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PRISON LABOR

BY

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PRISON LABOR;

Its Effects on Industry and Trade.

In my early years I stood before the open door of a blazing furnace and piled in the fuel to create steam to speed a locomotive along the iron track of progress and civilization. In the costume of the craft, through the grime of mingled sweat and smoke and dust I was initiated into the great brotherhood of labor. The locomotive was my alma mater. I mastered the curriculum and graduated with the degree of D. D., not, as the lexicons interpret the letters, "Doctor of Divinity," but that better signification, "Do and Dare"—a higher degree than Aristotle conferred in his Lyceum or Plato thundered from his Academy. I am not in the habit of telling how little I know about Latin to those who have slaked their thirst for learning at the Pierian springs, but there is a proverb that has come down to us from the dim past which reads "Omnia vincit labor" and which has been adopted as the shibboleth of the American labor movement because, when reduced to English, it reads "Labor overcomes all things." In a certain sense this is true. Labor has built this great metropolis of the new world, built it as coral insects build the foundations of islands—build and die; build from the fathomless depths of the ocean until the mountain billows are dashed into spray as they beat against the fortifications beneath which the builders are forever entombed and forgotten. Here in this proud city where wealth has built its monuments grander and more imposing than any of the seven wonders of the world named in classic lore, if you will excavate for facts you will find the remains, the bones of the toilers, buried and imbedded in their foundations. They lived, they wrought, they died. In their time they may have laughed and sung and danced to the music of their clanking chains. They married, propagated their species, and perpetuated conditions which, growing steadily worse, are to-day the foulest blots the imagination can conceive upon our much vaunted civilization.

And from these conditions there flow a thousand streams

of vice and crime which have broadened and deepened until they constitute a perpetual menace to the peace and security of society. Jails, work-houses, reformatories and penitentiaries have been crowded with victims, and the question how to control these institutions and their unfortunate inmates is challenging the most serious thought of the most advanced nations on the globe.

The particular phase of this grave and melancholy question which we are to consider this evening is embodied in the subject assigned the speakers: "Prison Labor, Its effects on Industry and Trade."

I must confess that it would have suited my purpose better had the subject been transposed so as to read: Industry and Trade, their effect on Labor," for, as a Socialist, I am convinced that the prison problem is rooted in the present system of industry and trade, carried forward, as it is, purely for private profit without the slightest regard to the effect upon those engaged in it, especially the men, women, and children who perform the useful, productive labor which has created all wealth and all civilization.

Serious as is the problem presented in the subject of our discussion, it is yet insignificant when compared with the vastly greater question of the effect of our social and economic system upon industry and trade.

The pernicious effect of prison contract labor upon "free labor," so called, when brought into competition with it in the open market, is universally conceded, but it should not be overlooked that prison labor is itself an effect and not a cause, and that convict labor is recruited almost wholly from the propertyless, wage-working class and that the inhuman system which has reduced a comparative few from enforced idleness to crime, has sunk the whole mass of labor to the dead level of industrial servitude.

It is therefore with the economic system, which is responsible for, not only prison labor, but for the gradual enslavement and degradation of all labor, that we must deal before there can be any solution of the prison labor problem or any permanent relief from its demoralizing influences.

But we will briefly consider the effect of prison labor upon industry and then pass to the larger question of the cause of prison labor and its appalling increase, to which the discussion logically leads.

From the earliest ages there has been a prison problem.

The ancients had their bastiles and their dungeons. Most of the pioneers of progress, the haters of oppression, the lovers of liberty, whose names now glorify the pantheon of the world, made such institutions a necessity in their day. But civilization advances, however slowly, and there has been some progress. It required five hundred years to travel from the inquisition to the injunction.

In the earlier days punishment was the sole purpose of imprisonment. Offenders against the ruling class must pay the penalty in prison cell, which, not infrequently, was equipped with instruments of torture. With the civilizing process came the idea of the reformation of the culprit, and this idea prompts every investigation made of the latter-day problem. The inmates must be set to work for their own good, no less than for the good of the state.

It was at this point that the convict labor problem began and it has steadily expanded from that time to this and while there have been some temporary modifications of the evil, it is still an unmitigated curse from which there can be no escape while an economic system endures in which labor, that is to say the laborer, man, woman and child, is sold to the lowest bidder in the markets of the world.

More than thirty years ago Prof. E. C. Wines and Prof. Theodore W. Dwight, then commissioners of the Prison Association of New York, made a report to the legislature of the state on prison industry in which they said:

"Upon the whole it is our settled conviction that the contract system of convict labor, added to the system of political appointments, which necessarily involves a low grade of official qualification and constant changes in the prison staff, renders nugatory, to a great extent, the whole theory of our penitentiary system. Inspection may correct isolated abuses; philanthropy may relieve isolated cases of distress; and religion may effect isolated moral cures; but genuine, radical, comprehensive, systematic improvement is impossible."

The lapse of thirty years has not affected the wisdom or logic of the conclusion. It is as true now as it was then. Considered in his most favorable light, the convict is a scourge to himself, a menace to society and a burden to industry, and whatever system of convict labor may be tried, it will ultimately fail of its purpose at reformation of the criminal or the relief of industry as long as thousands of "free laborers" who have committed no crime are unable to get work and make an honest living. Not long ago I visited a penitentiary in which a convict expressed regret that his sentence was soon

to expire. Where was he to go, and what was he to do? And how long before he would be sentenced to a longer term for a greater crime?

The commission which investigated the matter in Ohio in 1877 reported to the legislature as follows:

"The contract system interferes in an undue manner with the honest industry of the state. It has been the cause of crippling the business of many of our manufacturers; it has been the cause of driving many of them out of business; it has been the cause of a large percentage of reductions which have taken place in the wages of our mechanics; it has been the cause of pauperizing a large portion of our laborers and increasing crime in a corresponding degree; it has been no benefit to the state; as a reformatory measure it has been a complete, total and miserable failure; it has hardened more criminals than any other cause; it has made total wrecks morally of thousands and thousands who would have been reclaimed from the paths of vice and crime under a proper system of prison management, but who have resigned their fate to a life of hopeless degradation; it has not a single commendable feature. Its tendency is pernicious in the extreme. In short, it is an insurmountable barrier in the way of the reformation of the unfortunates who are compelled to live and labor under its evil influences; it enables a class of men to get rich out of the crimes committed by others; it leaves upon the fair escutcheon of the state a relic of the very worst form of human slavery; it is a bone of ceaseless contention between the state and its mechanical and industrial interests; it is abhorred by all and respected by none except those, perhaps, who make profit and gain out of it. It should be tolerated no longer but abolished at once."

And yet this same system is still in effect in many of the states of the Union. The most revolting outrages have been perpetrated upon prison laborers under this diabolical system. Read the official reports and stand aghast at the atrocities committed against these morally deformed and perverted human creatures, your brothers and my brothers, for the private profit of capitalistic exploiters and the advancement of Christian civilization.

What a commentary on the capitalist competitive system! First, men are forced into idleness. Gradually they are driven to the extremity of begging or stealing. Having still a spark of pride and self-respect they steal and are sent to jail. The first sentence seals their doom. The brand of Cain is upon them. They are identified with the criminal class. Society, whose victims they are, has exiled them forever, and with this curse ringing in their ears they proceed on their downward career, sounding every note in the scale of depravity until at last, having graduated in crime all the

way from petit larceny to homicide, their last despairing sigh is wrung from them by the hangman's halter. From first to last these unfortunates, the victims of social malformation, are made the subject of speculation and traffic. The barbed iron of the prison contractor is plunged into their quivering hearts that their tortures may be coined into private profit for their exploiters.

In the investigation in South Carolina, where the convicts had been leased to railroad companies, the most shocking disclosures were made. Out of 285 prisoners employed by one company, 128, or more than 40 per cent, died as the result, largely, of brutal treatment.

It is popular to say that society must be protected against its criminals. I prefer to believe that criminals should be protected against society, at least while we live under a system that makes the commission of crime necessary to secure employment.

The Tennessee tragedy is still fresh in the public memory. Here, as elsewhere, the convicts, themselves brutally treated, were used as a means of dragging the whole mine-working class down to their crime-cursed condition. The Tennessee Coal and Iron Co. leased the convicts for the express purpose of forcing the wages of miners down to the point of subsistence. Says the official report: "The miners were compelled to work in competition with low-priced convict labor, the presence of which was used by the company as a scourge to force free laborers to its terms." Then the miners, locked out, their families suffering, driven to desperation, appealed to force and in a twinkling the laws of the state were trampled down, the authorities overpowered and defied, and almost five hundred convicts set at liberty.

Fortunately the system of leasing and contracting prison labor for private exploitation is being exposed and its monster iniquities laid bare. Thanks to organized labor and to the spirit of prison reform, this horrifying phase of the evil is doomed to disappear before an enlightened public sentiment.

The public account system, though subject to serious criticism, is far less objectionable than either the lease, the contract or the piece-price system. At least the prisoner's infirmities cease to be the prey of speculative greed and conscienceless rapacity.

The system of manufacturing for the use of state, county

and municipal institutions, adopted by the state of New York, is an improvement upon those hitherto in effect, but it is certain to develop serious objections in course of time. With the use of modern machinery the limited demand will soon be supplied and then what? It may be in order to suggest that the prisoners could be employed in making shoes and clothes for the destitute poor and school books for their children and many other articles which the poor sorely need but are unable to buy.

Developing along this line it would be only a question of time until the state would be manufacturing all things for the use of the people, and then perhaps the inquiry would be pertinent: If the state can give men steady employment after they commit crime, and manufacturing can be carried forward successfully by their labor, why can it not give them employment before they are driven to that extremity, thereby preventing them from becoming criminals?

All useful labor is honest labor, even if performed in a prison. Only the labor of exploiters, such as speculators, stock gamblers, beef-embalmers and their mercenary politicians, lawyers and other parasites—only such is dishonest labor. A thief making shoes in a penitentiary is engaged in more useful and therefore more honest labor than a "free" stonemason at work on a palace whose foundations are laid in the skulls and bones, and cemented in the sweat and blood of ten thousand victims of capitalistic exploitation. In both cases the labor is compulsory. The stonemason would not work for the trust-magnate were he not compelled to.

In ancient times only slaves labored. And as a matter of fact only slaves labor now. The millions are made by the magic of manipulation. The coal miners of West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois receive an average wage of less than seventy-five cents a day. They perform the most useful and necessary labor, without which your homes, if possible at all, would be cheerless as caves and the great heart of industry would cease to throb. Are they free men, or are they slaves? And what is the effect of *their* labor on trade and industry? and upon themselves and their families? Dante would search the realms of inferno in vain for such pictures of horror and despair as are to be found in the mining regions of free America.

To the student of social science the haggard fact stands forth that under the competitive system of production and

distribution the prison problem will never be solved—and its effect upon trade and industry will never be greatly modified. The fact will remain that whatever labor is performed by prison labor could and should be performed by free labor, and when in the march of economic progress the capitalist system of industry for private profit succumbs to the socialist system of industry for human happiness, when the factory, which is now a penitentiary crowded with life convicts, among whom children often constitute the majority—when this factory is transformed into a temple of science, and the machine, myriad-armed and tireless, is the only slave, there will be no prison labor and the problem will cease to vex the world, and to this it is coming in obedience to the economic law, as unerring in its operation as the law of gravitation.

That prison labor is demoralizing in its effect on trade and industry whenever and wherever brought into competition with it, especially under the various forms of the contract system, is of course conceded, but that it has been, or is at present, a great factor in such demoralization is not admitted. There is a tendency to exaggerate the blighting effects of prison labor for the purpose of obscuring the one overshadowing cause of demoralized trade and impoverished industry.

Prison labor did not reduce the miner to a walking hunger-pang his, wife to a tear-stained rag, and his home to a lair. Prison labor is not responsible for the squares of squalor and miles of misery in New York, Chicago and all other centers of population. Prison labor is not chargeable with the sweating dens in which the victims of capitalistic competition crouch in dread and fear until death comes to their rescue. Prison labor had no hand in Cœur d'Alene, Tennessee, Homestead, Hazleton, Virdin, Pana, that suburb of hell called Pullman and other ensanguined industrial battle fields where thousands of workingmen after being oppressed and robbed were imprisoned like felons, and shot down like vagabond dogs; where venal judges issued infamous injunctions and despotic orders at the behest of their masters, enforcing them with deputy marshals armed with pistols and clubs and supported by troops with gleaming bayonets and shotted guns to drain the veins of workingmen of blood, but for whose labor this continent would be a wilderness. Only the tortures of hunger and nakedness provoked protest, and this was silenced by the bayonet and bullet; by the club and the blood that followed the blow.

Prison labor is not accountable for the appalling increase in insanity, in suicide, in murder, in prostitution and a thousand other forms of vice and crime which pollute every fountain and contaminate every stream designed to bless the world.

Prison labor did not create our army of unemployed, but has been recruited from its ranks, and both owe their existence to the same social and economic system.

Nor are the evil effects confined exclusively to the poor working class. There is an aspect of the case in which the rich are as unfortunate as the poor. The destiny of the capitalist class is irrevocably linked with the working class. Fichte, the great German philosopher said, "Wickedness increases in proportion to the elevation of rank."

Prison labor is but one of the manifestations of our economic development and indicates its trend. The same cause that demoralized industry has crowded our prisons. Industry has not been impoverished by prison labor, but prison labor is the result of impoverished industry. The limited time at my command will not permit an analysis of the process.

The real question which confronts us is our industrial system and its effects upon labor. One of these effects is, as I have intimated, prison labor. What is its cause? What makes it necessary? The answer is, the competitive system, which creates wage-slavery, throws thousands out of employment and reduces the wages of thousands more to the point of bare subsistence.

Why is prison labor preferred to "free labor?" Simply because it is cheaper; it yields more profit to the man who buys, exploits and sells it. But this has its limitations. Capitalist competition that throngs the streets with idle workers, capitalist production that reduces human labor to a commodity and ultimately to crime—this system produces another kind of prison labor in the form of child labor which is being utilized more and more to complete the subjugation of the working class. There is this difference: The prison laborers are clothed and housed and fed. The child laborers, whose wage is a dollar a week, or even less, must take care of themselves.

Prison labor is preferred because it is cheap. So with child labor. It is not a question of prison labor, or of child labor, but of *cheap* labor.

Tenement-house labor is another form of prison labor.

The effects of cheap labor on trade and industry must be the same, whether such labor is done by prisoners, tenement house slaves, children or starving "hoboes."

The prison laborer produces by machinery in abundance but does not consume. The child likewise produces, but owing to its small wages, does not consume. So with the vast army of workers whose wage grows smaller as the productive capacity of labor increases, and then we are afflicted with over-production, the result of under-consumption. What follows? The panic. Factories close down, wage-workers are idle and suffer, middle-class business men are forced into bankruptcy, the army of tramps is increased, vice and crime are rampant and prisons and work-houses are filled to overflowing as are sewers when the streets of cities are deluged with floods.

Prison labor, like all cheap labor, is at first a source of profit to the capitalist, but finally it turns into a two-edged sword that cuts into and destroys the system that produced it.

First, the capitalist pocket is filled by the employment of cheap labor—and then the bottom drops out of it.

In the cheapening process, the pauperized mass have lost their consuming power.

The case may now be summed up as follows:

First. Prison labor is bad; it has a demoralizing effect on capitalist trade and industry.

Second. Child labor, tenement house and every other form of cheap labor is bad; it is destructive to trade and industry.

Third. Capitalist competition is bad; it creates a demand for cheap labor.

Fourth. Capitalist production is bad; it creates millionaires and mendicants, economic masters and slaves, thus intensifying the class struggle.

This indicates that the present capitalist system has outlived its usefulness, and that it is in the throes of dissolution. Capitalism is but a link in the chain of economic development. Just as feudalism developed capitalism and then disappeared, so capitalism is now developing socialism, and when the new social system has been completely evolved the last vestige of capitalism will fade into history.

The gigantic trust marks the change in production. It is no longer competitive but co-operative. The same mode of distribution, which must inevitably follow, will complete the

process. Co-operative labor will be the basis of the new social system, and this will be done for use and not for profit. Labor will no longer be bought and sold. Industrial slavery will cease. For every man there will be the equal right to work with every other man and each will receive the fruit of his labor. Then we shall have economic equality. Involuntary idleness will be a horror of the past. Poverty will relax its grasp. The army of tramps will be disbanded because the prolific womb which now warms these unfortunates into life will become barren. Prisons will be depopulated and the prison labor problem will be solved. Each labor-saving machine will lighten the burden and decrease the hours of toil. The soul will no longer be subordinated to the stomach. Man will live a complete life, and the march will then begin to an ideal civilization.

There is a proverb which the Latin race sent ringing down the centuries which reads, "Omnia vincit amor," or "Love conquers all things." Love and labor in alliance, working together, have transforming, redeeming and emancipating power. Under their benign sway the world can be made better and brighter.

Isaiah saw in prophetic vision a time when nations should war no more—when swords should be transformed into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks. The fulfillment of the prophecy only awaits an era when Love and Labor, in holy alliance, shall solve the economic problem.

Here, on this occasion, in this great metropolis with its thousand spires pointing heavenward, where opulence riots in luxury which challenges hyperbole, and poverty rots in sweat shops which only a Shakespeare or a Victor Hugo could describe, and the transfer to canvas would palsy the hand of a Michael Angelo—here, where wealth and want and woe bear irrefutable testimony of deplorable conditions, I stand as a socialist, protesting against the wrongs perpetrated upon *Les Misérables*, and pleading as best I can for a higher civilization.

The army of begging Lazaruses, with the dogs licking their sores at the gates of palaces, where the rich are clothed in purple and fine linen with their tables groaning beneath the luxuries of all climes, make the palaces on the highland where fashion holds sway and music lends it charms, a picture in the landscape which, in illustrating disparity, brings into bolder relief the hut and the hovel in the hollow where

want, gaunt and haggard, sits at the door and where light and plenty, cheerfulness and hope are forever exiled by the despotic decree of conditions as cruel as when the Czar of Russia orders to his penal mines in Siberia the hapless subjects who dare whisper the sacred word liberty—as cruel as when this boasted land of freedom commands that a far-away, innocent people shall be shot down in jungle and lagoon, in their bamboo huts, because they dream of freedom and independence.

These conditions are as fruitful of danger to the opulent as they are of degradation to the poor. It is neither folly nor fanaticism to assert that the country cannot exist under such conditions. The higher law of righteousness, of love and labor will prevail. It is a law which commends itself to reasoning men, a primal law enacted long before Jehovah wrote the decalogue amidst the thunders and lightnings of Sinai. It is a law written upon the tablets of every man's heart and conscience. It is a law infinitely above the creeds and dogmas and tangled disquisitions of the churches—the one law which in its operations will level humanity upward until men, redeemed from greed and every debasing ambition, shall obey its mandates and glory in its triumph.

Love and labor will give us the Economic Republic—the Industrial Democracy—the equal rights of all men and women, and the emancipation of all from the vicious thraldoms of the centuries.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS;

**Of John C. Chase, Mayor of Haverhill, Mass.,
To the City Council, January
2d, 1899.**

Gentlemen of the City Council:—

In assuming the duties of the office to which I have been elected, I am fully conscious, as a socialist, of the responsibilities devolving upon me as a public official, and of the limited power granted to the municipality by the laws of the State. But I assure you, that every atom of power possessed by me as the Chief Magistrate of the City shall be exercised in the defense and support of the principles of Socialism, in so far as they may be applicable to a municipality.

Believing, as I do, that the grand cause which I have the honor to represent, is bound, by all the principles of justice and human progress, to triumph, it is fitting that I should, at the beginning of this address, devote some time to setting forth, from a Socialist's standpoint, my ideas as to the changes in municipal affairs that are necessary for the improvement of conditions and the uplifting of our people, as well as the best methods to bring them about.

To secure equal rights for all has been in the past, and should always be, the aim of every conscientious man who is entrusted with the guardianship of the welfare of his fellow citizens. Trusting that you are animated by this spirit, I shall submit to you, for your careful consideration, such plans as I have thus far outlined, hoping that you will, in all your deliberations and actions as the directors of civic affairs for the City of Haverhill, bear in mind that the eyes of the world are upon you, ready to condemn any false step, and just as ready to applaud any action that may be of benefit to humanity. American municipalities have long been the despair of good citizens. I believe that Socialism holds the key to America's municipal problems. Let us, then, shake off prejudice, and

give to the world that large measure of demonstration which will not only prove beneficial to our own municipality, but will also inspire others to follow where it is our privilege to lead. I make the assertion that private ownership of the means of production, distribution and communication is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence and the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever growing majority of our people, and that the liberty and happiness of every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights, possible of attainment only through the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth. While it is not possible for any municipality to guarantee to its citizens all their economic rights, I believe that much can be accomplished in this direction, and that every power the municipality possesses should be placed at the disposal of the people in the interest of civilization—that mankind may progress to a grander and nobler life. With that aim in view, I submit the following specific recommendations:

First, the passing of an order establishing the minimum wage for street employees at two dollars for eight hour's work.

Second, Union wages and conditions to prevail in all brick and stone masons' work performed under the direction of the street department.

Third, all City printing to bear the Union label.

UNEMPLOYED.

With the development of machinery there follows a displacement of labor, and the concentration of capital forces into the ranks of the working class those of the middle class economically unable to compete with the gigantic combinations of capital that are the feature of America's industrial life. From these sources there has come a class previously unknown in society—the unemployed, whose existence cannot be denied and whose rights as human beings require the formulation of some immediate plan for their relief. While no municipality can hope to solve this grave problem, it being a national and even an international one, yet some little relief at least can be afforded by this City Government. I therefore recommend:

First, that you proceed to secure a tract of land suitable for the raising of food products, and that such of the unemployed as desire be permitted to use said land, the City to furnish proper seeds and tools.

Second, the enlargement of the fuel yard at the City Farm to such proportions as will permit all who desire to earn by their labor such fuel as they may require.

Third, the appropriation of such an amount of money as circumstances may warrant, to be used in providing employment directly upon public works, not in competition with the regular employees of the City, but upon special works, two kinds of which I herewith suggest:

First, improvement of the Park system, particularly about Lake Kenosha.

Second, construction of a system of bicycle paths through all principal thoroughfares.

CONTRACT LABOR.

The system now in vogue, of contracting with the lowest bidder for work performed for the City, should no longer be tolerated. Low bids mean cheap work. Cheap work means cheap men and low wages, and low wages lowers the standard of citizenship. The city should perform its own work and furnish its own material, giving employment to its citizens.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC UTILITIES.

In common with every progressive thinker of the nineteenth century, I believe that we, as a municipality, should own and operate all public utilities, such as street railroads, gas and electric light plants. Public ownership of public utilities is no longer an experiment. It has been successfully practiced in this and other countries, and the results have been the minimizing of corruption and an improvement in the condition of the labor employed and in the quality of the service rendered the public. As an example of the economic advantages of public ownership, I quote from statistics of ninety-five cities relating to electric lighting, compiled by Professor Frank Parsons, of the Boston University of Law: In twenty cities with public plants the average cost per night of one arc light of 2,000 candle power is 13.4 cents, and in seventy-five cities with private plants the average cost is 42 cents.

Here are a few comparisons made by Professor Parsons, of the cost per night of one arc light of the same candle power, under public ownership, and under the previous private system in the same places:

	Private	Public.
Huntington, Ind.	39 cents.	13.7 cents.
Lewiston, Me.	50 "	14 "
Aurora, Ill.	89.5 "	15.3 "

In all these cases there is an absolute saving in industrial force as well as the lowering of the price to the consumer. As another example of the benefits of public ownership, take our own water works system. I am told by the President of the Board that under municipal ownership there is a direct saving to the people of this City of \$12,000 per year. The rates have been reduced, the service vastly improved, and this important public service has been removed from the realm of politics. To appreciate these advantages, resulting from public ownership, we have only to call to mind the fact that when the City took over the plant from the Haverhill Aqueduct Company, the plant was little more than a hole in the ground; that it had been almost completely run out; and, further, while privately owned, it was one of the greatest sources of political corruption in this municipality. What has been accomplished in the management of our water department can be done just as successfully in relation to the electric light and gas plants, and to all public services of a like nature. This municipality, like all others in the state is most seriously hampered in any attempt to attain public ownership by the laws of this Commonwealth, still I urge and most earnestly recommend that the City Council take such action as is possible and necessary for the establishment and operation of municipal gas and electric lighting plants. I could enumerate many reasons why this should be done, but will refrain from so doing at this time and leave the matter for your impartial consideration, trusting that you will act for the welfare of all our people.

STREET RAILWAYS.

I submit, as a self-evident truth, that no public necessity should be privately owned. In addition to the social and economic reasons that support the growing demands for public ownership of street railways, our experience during the past year with the Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill Street Railway Company has demonstrated public ownership to be a political necessity. This street railway company, in defiance of every principle of equity, of the will of the public and of the request of the City Council, introduced and enforced a

bonding system universally disapproved and condemned, and the spectacle of a corporation operating a public franchise, acting in defiance of the City authorities and the popular will, was afforded the world. The power of this and every other corporation can only be destroyed by public ownership. I, therefore, urge upon you the need of taking steps in the direction of municipal street railways. While this is being accomplished, I recommend that you require of each street railway company operating in this City, such increase in the number of cars as will provide, under normal conditions, every passenger with a seat, and such extensions of lines as is necessary to properly accommodate our people that reside in the outer districts of the City. Also, that the Haverhill & Amesbury Street Railway Company be permitted to run regular trips on Main, Merrimack, Washington, River and such other streets as may be required for efficient service, and that the right to run regular trips through the River street shoe district be accorded the Haverhill, Georgetown & Danvers Street Railway Company.

GRADE CROSSING.

The abolition of grade crossings has been for years the cry of politicians coming before the people for their suffrage, and yet nothing has been accomplished in that direction more than to have a flag waved at the approach of each train. This does not speak well for an enlightened municipality as we are prone to call our own. It is high time that Haverhill should place herself in line with her morime that Haverhill, cities, and immediately remove this daily and hourly meance to the life and safety of our citizens. I recommend that the Board of Aldermen take immediate steps toward the abolition of these grade crossings which have too long disgraced our City.

TAXATION.

The burden of taxation should be equitably distributed, and in exact proportion to the holdings of each citizen. Large property owners should not be allowed to evade or dodge their just proportion of taxation because of their influence in the Community; and in electing our Assessors we should be extremely careful to elect men who will show no partiality.

SECRET SESSIONS.

Many reasons could be given at this time why secret sessions and "star chamber" proceedings in the City Council should be abolished. The people should at all times know what their public servants are doing, and no servant who hides his work under the mask of secrecy is a proper person to be entrusted with the interests of the people; he stands guilty of the charge of unfairness, and, whether innocent or not, he at least lays himself open to the suspicion of corruption. The guardians of the public welfare should be, at all times, willing to openly state their position on public questions, and to have a correct record of their vote on such questions open to the inspection of their constituents. I would, therefore, recommend the passage of an order by both branches of the City Government making all sessions public and abolishing secret balloting in the City Council, and that a public record be kept of the vote of each member on all questions.

CITY CHARTER.

If we hope to place our municipality in the front rank as progressive, we should no longer permit ourselves to be hampered and retarded by an ancient City charter. New times demand new methods, and our eyes should be turned toward the light of progress. There are many needed measures and many modern methods that we should adopt, but are prevented from so doing by the provisions of our City charter. Some of the things which I believe should be incorporated in a new charter are the following:

First, absolute home rule for our municipality in all matters not conflicting with the equal rights of other cities.

Second, the adoption of the initiative and referendum.

Third, proportional representation.

Fourth, the imperative mandate or the right of recall of officials by their constituency.

Fifth, the right to own and operate all public utilities.

Sixth, the election of the Superintendent of Streets by the people.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The rapid growth of our City necessitates an increased appropriation for educational purposes. In making up the appropriation we should be liberal and progressive in order

that the hands of the school department may not be tied, and thus prevented from introducing such modern methods as, in their judgment, are necessary to keep Haverhill schools second to none. While it is true that we have a good school system, it is also true that there are better, and we should not be content to allow any of our sister cities to lead in the matter of education. I would recommend an additional appropriation of \$1,500 to construct the Manual Training School.

FOOD AND CLOTHING FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN.

It should be our constant aim to educate every child over whose destiny we are presiding. The security and stability of American institutions depends largely upon the enlightenment and education of the rising generation, and every possible effort should be made to insure to every child in the City of Haverhill every opportunity for a thorough education. Food and clothing should be supplied to those children whose parents are unable to provide for them, that none may be debarred, through the lack of the necessities of life, from attending school and receiving that training and knowledge which will make them useful and valuable citizens in years to come.

FIRE DEPARTMENT.

I am confident that we have a fire department second to none in New England, and we should labor to keep it up to its present standard. The safety of human life and property depends upon having brave, honest and temperate men as fire fighters. I find, upon investigation, that some improvements are necessary in the interests of economy and efficient service. I would recommend the purchase of a pair of light horses for the Mt. Washington hose wagon. This hose wagon has been, heretofore a single hitch, but a pair of light horses would do much better service and be as economical as one large horse is at present. I would also recommend the purchase of the battery system at the Central station, which is at present hired by the City at a rental of \$250 per year. When it can be bought by the city for \$1,250, I cannot discover where there is any economy in hiring it at a rental amounting to 20 per cent. of the purchase price.

WATER DEPARTMENT.

This is a department by itself. With the improvements

recently made, I believe we have, on the whole, a system of water works that will compare favorably with that of any city in New England. I learn from the Water Board that there is a direct saving to water takers, of something like \$12,000 per year since the City took over this important branch of public service. We have better service, at lower rates to consumers, than under the former management, and when all improvements now under way are completed, we will have a department capable of supplying the needs of the City for fifty years to come. No tax payer, as such, has ever paid one cent towards the purchase of the plant or the land it now holds, or of the expense of its maintenance—all this has been paid for by the water takers. One unsettled question in regard to this department, which should be acted upon immediately, is the question as to whether the City shall pay for the water used by the various City departments. Up to the year 1897 the City paid the water department for the water used by the city, but since that time the bills from the Water Board have not been approved and there are at present unpaid bills against the City of two years standing, which should be disposed of to the satisfaction of both the City and the Water Commissioners.

Another question which is being seriously discussed by our citizens, is the advisability of a change in the present method of the management of this department. It is practically out of the control of the City Council, and, while it is not my intention to cast any reflection upon the official acts of those who have served as Water Commissioners, I believe it to be unwise to remove any department from direct responsibility to the Council of this City. And I recommend that action be taken in the direction of placing the Water department under the authority of the City Council.

POLICE.

I am confident, despite all that may be justly charged against this department, that in efficiency, bravery and loyalty to duty, it will compare most favorably with those of other cities, still we should not rest content. To raise the standard of efficiency should be our aim. To accomplish this let us no longer indulge in carping criticism. Let us, rather, assure each member of this department that if one fails in his duty, the whole shall not be condemned; that the acts of the individual member derelict in the performance of

his duty shall be promptly and resolutely met, and that such punishment as may be compatible with the case accorded. Also, that each meritorious act will be credited. We should not underrate the importance of a healthy public sentiment in support of the officers in the discharge of their duties; nor should we forget that they are men, and desire to be treated as such. Convince them, gentlemen, that you intend to deal promptly, resolutely and justly with them and the Haverhill Police Department will become the peer of any like department in this Commonwealth. In concluding upon this matter, I desire to recommend immediate action in relation to the flagrant violation of orders, occurring in what is known as the "patrol house." It has become the seat of a political ring and has been there maintained in direct violation of the orders of the Board of Aldermen and the authority of the City Marshal. I recommend that the orders governing that building be enforced.

STREET LIGHTS.

Well lighted streets add more beauty to a city, to my mind, than almost any other thing that can be accomplished in the way of improvements. Unfortunately, the City does not own or control an electric lighting plant, but has to pay a private company for its lights, including a high rate of profit to the company. As a result we are limiting the City in the number of lights, on the plea of economy. The truest economy demands that the City shall own and operate its own plant, and thus be able to furnish all the lights the City can require at a less cost than we are now paying for an insufficient service.

STREET WATERING.

While there has been an improvement in this department, yet the manner in which our streets have been sprinkled during the past year has been open to criticism. The claim has been made that proper care and judgment has not been displayed, and that some streets have been deluged with water, while others have been neglected. The Committee on Street Watering should exercise careful and close watch in this matter and guarantee to our citizens that this department shall be run in an economical and efficient manner.

LICENSES.

At the late election the voters decided that licenses should

be granted for the sale of intoxicating liquors. It is not for us to discuss whether their verdict be right or wrong. It is our duty to enforce impartially and without discrimination the will of the people. Those who desire to engage in the sale of intoxicating liquors must receive from the License Commissioners a license with the knowledge that the requirements of that license must be kept inviolate.

POOR DEPARTMENT.

Through the development of machinery and the concentration of capital, the army of unemployed increases daily, and in proportion to its increase there comes an increase in the demands made upon this department. Every possible assistance to the unfortunates in need of assistance should be given. Everything possible should be done to spare them from the odium which, unfortunately, has attached itself to the act of receiving assistance from this department. Owing to the growing demands upon this department, additional land must be secured. I, therefore, recommend that you consider the advisability of seeking the transfer of the land on the southerly side of Lincoln avenue, from the Park to the Poor Department. The addition of a wing to the present building at the City Farm has been recommended, and I submit the matter to your careful consideration.

STREETS, SIDEWALKS, BRIDGES AND SEWERS.

All work performed in the direction of the extension, improvement and development of the streets, sidewalks, bridges and sewers of the City should be systematic, and no effort should be spared to attain the highest degree of permanency. One of the needs of this department, for use upon the highways, is a better quality of gravel, as that which has been used is, on the whole, unsatisfactory. The demand made upon last year's City Council for a portable stone crusher, to be used in the suburbs, deserves your immediate consideration. The practice of working some of the employes of this department over time, while others have been denied all opportunity for employment, is unfair and should be abolished.

ELECTRICAL AFFAIRS.

The increase in the number of telephone, telegraph and electric light wires throughout the City requires immediate action for their removal, and I would recommend that you

seek passage of such legislation as will enable the City to construct and control a municipal conduit; and that all telephone, telegraph and electric companies, operating in this City, be compelled to place their wires therein, subject to such conditions as may be determined upon.

PUBLIC LIBRARY AND HALE HOSPITAL.

These very excellent institutions are deserving of praise and the loyal support of the City Council and of the people. The one aiding in the illumination of the mind, the other in the alleviation of human suffering, deserves and should receive every assistance that may be required for their development, to the end that their power for good be not impaired.

SOLDIERS' RELIEF.

Those who fought and won the battle for the emancipation of a race from chattel slavery deserve the most generous treatment, and, I trust, all that is possible in this direction will be freely done. I desire, also, to call your attention to the fact that many of the families of the local volunteers in the late war with Spain are in destitute circumstances, and are in immediate need of assistance, and some plan for their relief should be determined upon without delay.

FINANCES.

The financial condition of the City at the close of last year's business will compare favorably with former years. The financial statement of the Auditor will form a part of this address, when printed, according to the usual custom.

I shall submit to you in relation to these and the departments that I have specifically mentioned, such other recommendations as occasion requires.

OTHER DEPARTMENTS.

Gentlemen of the City Council, in conclusion I would urge upon you the importance of careful and conscientious effort during your term of office. Into your hands have been entrusted the management of the affairs of this municipality. Time, patience and fidelity will be demanded in the performance of your duties. You will, doubtless, disagree on many questions, but however widely you may differ you should not forget that the eyes of the world are upon you. When you leave this hall you will go out as public servants, sworn to

the faithful performance of the trust reposed in you by the people. Let it not be said that you failed in your duty to your fellow citizens, to yourselves, and to humanity.

Only Two Kinds of People.

By ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

There are two kinds of people on earth today.
Just two kinds of people, no more, I say.

Not the sinner and saint, for 'tis well understood
The good are half bad, and the bad are half good.

Not the rich and the poor, for to count a man's wealth
You must first know the state of his conscience and health.

Not the humble and proud, for in life's little span
Who puts on airs is not counted a man.

Not the happy and sad, for the swift flying years
Bring each man his laughter, and each man his tears.

No ; the two kinds of people on earth I mean
Are the people who lift and the people who lean.

Wherever you go you will find the world's masses
Are always divided in just these two classes.

And oddly enough you will find, too, I ween,
There is only one lifter to twenty who lean.

In which class are you? Are you easing the load
Of overtaxed lifters who toil down the road?

Or are you a leaner who lets others bear
Your portion of labor and worry and care?

“THE MAN WITH THE HOE.”

Bowed by the weight of centuries he leans
 Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground,
 The emptiness of ages in his face,
 And on his back the burden of the world.
 Who made him dead to rapture and despair,
 A thing that grieves not and that never hopes,
 Stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox?
 Who loosened and let down this brutal jaw?
 Whose was the hand that slanted back this brow?
 Whose breath blew out the light within this brain?

Is this the Thing the Lord God made and gave
 To have dominion over sea and land;
 To trace the stars and search the heavens for power;
 To feel the passion of Eternity?
 Is this the dream He dreamed who shaped the suns
 And pillared the blue firmament with light?
 Down all the stretch of Hell to its last gulf
 There is no shape more terrible than this—
 More tongued with censure of the world's blind greed—
 More filled with signs and portents for the soul—
 More fraught with menace to the universe.

What gulfs between him and the seraphim!
 Slave of the wheel of labor, what to him
 Are Plato and the swing of Pleiades?
 What the long reaches of the peaks of song,
 The rift of dawn, the reddening of the rose?
 Through this dread shape the suffering ages look;
 Time's tragedy is in that aching stoop;
 Through this dread shape humanity betrayed,
 Plundered, profaned and disinherited,
 Cries protest to the Judges of the World,
 A protest that is also prophecy.

O masters, lords and rulers in all lands,
 Is this the handiwork you give to God,
 This monstrous thing distorted and soul-quenched?
 How will you ever straighten up this shape;
 Give back the upward looking and the light;

Rebuild in it the music and the dream;
 Touch it again with immortality;
 Make right the immemorial infamies,
 Perfidious wrongs, immedicable woes?

O masters, lords and rulers in all lands,
 How will the Future reckon with this Man?
 How answer his brute question in that hour
 When whirlwinds of rebellion shake the world?
 How will it be with kingdoms and with kings—
 With those who shaped him to the thing he is—
 When this dumb Terror shall reply to God
 After the silence of the centuries?

Edwin Markham.

ARE YE TRULY FREE?

Men whose boast it is that ye
 Come of fathers brave and free,
 If there breathes on earth a slave,
 Are ye truly free and brave?

If ye do not feel the chain
 When it works a brother's pain,
 Are ye not base slaves indeed—
 Slaves unworthy to be freed?

They are slaves who will not choose
 Hatred, scoffing and abuse,
 Rather than in silence shrink
 From the truth they needs must think.

They are slaves who fear to speak
 For the fallen and the weak;
 They are slaves who dare not be
 In the right with two or three!

James Russell Lowell.

TWO SEASONS.

TO EUGENE V. DEBS.

Bare and cold are the shadeless vines,
 And rude the winds that toss them—
 (Drear as death the pale moon shines)
 And winter's silvery lances cross them—
 The biting air
 Hath never a care
 Where summer, soft as a maiden's breath,
 Kissed and crowned—
 When warm rich ground
 Spoke not of this, nor thought of death,
 Nor the wind's unhallowed sound.

Years of years do follow years,
 And hearts must break that know them.
 Crass and cold, the fruitless tears
 When smiling Love 'lows Pain to sow them—
 The bitter groan
 No plaintive moan,
 When barren greed like a craven child
 Crushed to sleep!—
 When crimes o'er-leap
 Their natural course and men turn wild,
 And the virtues crawl and creep!

Cold and dead are the unfed men;
 (And mothers and babes beside them)
 Sweet their sleep for never again,
 The fitful fever of life to chide them—
 Not so the vine!
 For warm sunshine,
 Cool shades of eve, and dawn's sweet breath
 Redeems with leaf
 And bud, the grief
 Of winter's feigning, white-lawed, death
 In the arms of spring's relief.

Summer-tide in the souls of men,
 (And sprays in spring's dear season)
 Soft in sleep, shall wake again

When snows are gone of drear unreason.
 O bud-time, hush!
 Your mantling blush
 Hath stirred the heart of heroic ones—
 Kissed and stirred
 Till they have heard
 The voice of spring's unnumbered suns,
 And the promise long deferred.
Ralcy Husted Bell.

THAT CRY.

BY A MAN WHO IS DEAF AND BLIND.

That cry! Do you hear it, my brother?
 That echo of blank despair,
 Like a frenzied yell
 From the depths of hell
 Upborne on the midnight air?
 No cry of a demon, my brother,
 That smites on your ear and mine,
 But the wild, wild wail,
 Wrung from hearts that fail
 In a country of wheat and wine.

'Tis the cry of our famishing brothers
 Who are filling your barns with bread,
 They are fainting of thirst,
 Tho' the fountains burst
 Of the wine press they have fed.
 And their limbs are bare, my brother.
 While the webs they wove, you hold,
 Till the loathsome moth
 Devours the cloth,
 Though the sons of men are cold.

They mansions have builded, my brother,
 But hovels are still their homes,
 They have fashioned your fanes
 With their painted panes
 And their lofty, gilded domes;

And the greatest schools they have builded
 You bar with golden bars.
 So they stand outside,
 'Neath the blue so wide,
 And wond'ring, weeping stars.

And their minds are dark, my brother,
 More dark than the North-land's night,
 On a burning soil,
 Like the sons of toil,
 Lack time to behold the light.
 And the sea that sings, my brother,
 And the wood to them are dumb.
 Thro' the weary years
 They have drunken tears
 Till their famished souls are numb.

How escape you the bondage, my brother?
 Yet revel in riches alone,
 In this age so fair,
 In a land of prayer,
 Who giveth you men to own?
 Who sayeth to you: "Highly favored,
 More worth than a thousand of these;
 Lo! Yours is the right
 To their sinewy might,
 They shall toil for your comfort and ease?"

Oh! Ponder the question, my brother,
 Oh! Ponder the question with care,
 While the wild, wild wail
 Wrung from hearts that fail
 Is still on the midnight air,
 Lest the slaves, in their fury, my brother,
 Shall rise lika a whelming flood,
 Sweep over each gate
 In their blind, hot hate,
 And answer the question in blood.

Walter A. Ratcliffe.

The Social Democratic Party

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for the Collective Ownership of the Means of
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